

**CONFERENCE OF THE EIGHTEEN-NATION COMMITTEE
ON DISARMAMENT**

ENDC/PV.205
6 August 1964
ENGLISH

UNIVERSITY
OF MICHIGAN

1964

DOCUMENT
COLLECTION

FINAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTH MEETING

Held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,
on Thursday, 6 August 1964, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman:

Mr. A. CORREA do LAGO

(Brazil)

PRESENT AT THE TABLE

Brazil:

Mr. A. CORREA do LAGO

Mr. E. HOSANNAH

Bulgaria:

Mr. C. LUKANOV

Mr. G. GHELEV

Mr. G. YANKOV

Mr. I. BOEV

Burma:

U SAIN BWA

U HTOON SHEIN

Canada:

Mr. E.L.M. BURNS

Mr. J.F.M. BELL

Mr. R.M. TAIT

Mr. C.J. MARSHALL

Czechoslovakia:

Mr. K. KURKA

Mr. M. KLUSAK

Mr. V. VAJNAR

Mr. A. MIKULIN

Ethiopia:

Lij Mikael IMRU

Ato S. TEFERRA

India:

Mr. R.K. NEHRU

Mr. K.P. LUKOSE

Mr. K. NARENDRANATH

Italy:

Mr. F. CAVALLETTI

Mr. R. GUIDOTTI

Mr. S. AVETTA

Mr. G.P. TOZZOLI

PRESENT AT THE TABLE (Cont'd)

Mexico:

Mr. A. GOMEZ ROBLEDO

Mr. M. TELLO

Mr. J. MERCADO

Nigeria:

Mr. L.C.N. OBI

Poland:

Mr. M. LOBODYCZ

Mr. E. STANIEWSKI

Mr. H. SOKALSKI

Mr. A. SKOWRONSKI

Romania:

Mr. V. DUMITRESCU

Mr. E. GLASER

Mr. V. CONSTANTINESCU

Mr. P. MATEESCU

Sweden:

Mrs. A. MYRDAL

Mr. P. HAMMARSKJOLD

Mr. U. ERICSSON

Mr. B. VEGESACK

Union of Soviet Socialist
Republics:

Mr. S.K. TSARAPKIN

Mr. L.I. MENDELYEVICH

Mr. M.V. ANTIAISOV

Mr. I.M. PALENYKH

United Arab Republic:

Mr. A.F. HASSAN

Mr. A. OSMAN

Mr. M. KASSEM

Mr. A.A. SALAM

United Kingdom:

Mr. J.G. TAHOURDIN

Mr. A.J. WILLIAMS

Mr. R.C. BEETHAM

Miss E.J.M. RICHARDSON

PRESENT AT THE TABLE (Cont'd)

United States of America:

Mr. C.H. TIMBERLAKE

Mr. S. de PALMA

Mr. R.A. MARTIN

Special Representative of the
Secretary-General:

Mr. D. PROTITCH

Deputy Special Representative
of the Secretary-General:

Mr. W. EPSTEIN

The CHAIRMAN (Brazil) (translation from French): I declare open the 205th meeting of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.

Before calling upon the speakers on the list, I shall read out in English the Joint Statement by the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the first anniversary of the signing of the Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water (ENDC/100/Rev.1).

(continued in English)

"One year ago today the treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water was signed by the representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

"This treaty moved our planet towards a further strengthening of peace. It helps restrict the arms race. It gives all men and women confidence that they and their children will be breathing purer air and living in a healthier, a less contaminated world. The States taking part in the disarmament negotiations at Geneva made their contribution to this cause. The positive role played by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, in the conclusion of the treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the three elements is worthy of note.

"Since the signing of the treaty, most of the world's States --- more than 100 --- have joined the three original signatories. Since then, also, additional --- if limited --- steps have been taken to reduce nuclear hazards to mankind. Such are the resolution of the General Assembly of October 17, 1963, on the banning of weapons of mass destruction in outer space and the steps taken by the United States, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the early months of this year to cut back production of plutonium and enriched uranium.

"These have been significant and valuable steps, but only first steps; serious problems and differences remain to be dealt with in order to achieve a downturn in the arms race, effective disarmament and secure peace. With a sincere concern for the true interests of

(The Chairman, Brazil)

all nations and through a constructive effort to achieve agreement consistent with those interests, we can seek to move along the road to understanding and to peace.

"In marking the first anniversary of the signing of the treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, we declare our intention to do everything possible for the solution through negotiations of unresolved international problems in order to strengthen general peace, the benefits of which would be enjoyed by all States, big and small, and by all people."^{1/}

(continued in French)

As Chairman of today's meeting, I am sure that I correctly interpret the feeling of all members of the Committee in expressing our pleasure at the above Joint Statement.

Mr. TIMBERLAKE (United States of America): It seems most appropriate that we in this Committee should mark this anniversary, for the discussions at this Conference in 1962 and 1963 had an important -- I would say vital -- bearing on developments which led to the conclusion one year ago of the Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water. As President Kennedy so appropriately said: "the achievement of this goal is not a victory for one side -- it is a victory for mankind". (ENDC/102, p.2) He characterized this Treaty as "an important first step -- a step towards peace -- a step towards reason -- a step away from war".

The Committee knows of President Kennedy's long-continued support for the test-ban negotiations. President Johnson's interest in and support of this goal has also been of long standing. During the early days of the test-ban negotiations, President Johnson was majority leader of our Senate and supported the efforts of the Eisenhower Administration to negotiate a test-ban treaty. In 1961, during the resumed test-ban talks, and when he was Vice-President, he came to Geneva to note the renewed progress of the test-ban Conference and to reiterate United States support for its goals. He joined President Kennedy, Secretary of State Rusk, Mr. Foster and others in the meetings in 1961, 1962 and 1963 out of which came the positions my Government took in the test-ban negotiations. His advice helped to guide United States policy towards a successful conclusion of the negotiations.

At the outset of his press conference last week, President Johnson said:

(Mr. Timberlake, United States)

"A year ago this week the nuclear test-ban Treaty was signed and agreed upon. Today, a year later, more than 100 nations have joined the three original signing countries ...

"A year without atmospheric testing has left our air cleaner. This is a benefit to every American family, and to every family everywhere ...

"It is therefore right that all Americans, without regard to party, should give thanks in this anniversary week for what the President and the Senate achieved last year.

"This thankfulness can be traced to the deep desire that all of us have for a world in which terror does not govern our waking lives."

Even as we commemorate this past achievement, let me remind the Committee that in his message to the Conference of 21 January 1964 (ENDC/120) President Johnson strongly reiterated United States support for a treaty banning all nuclear tests under effective verification and control. The President also reaffirmed the determination of the United States to continue, in every reasonable and practical way, the search for further agreements. It is in keeping with this determination that the United States has advanced its various proposals here for reducing international tensions and the risk of war, and has declared its willingness to consider any reasonable proposal.

Other important steps have been taken in the two years of this Conference. To all of them the Conference has made an important contribution. We confidently expect that it will continue to make such a contribution and will take all possible steps towards further agreements. The ultimate goal of this Conference, as of all the nations which signed the test-ban Treaty, is a secure and peaceful world, a world in which the dangers of an uncontrolled arms race are eliminated, a world safe for ourselves and for our children. The test-ban Treaty itself was one of the first important steps along the long road towards this goal. As President Johnson said, the legacy of the nuclear test-ban Treaty is a legacy of hope.

Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian): The Joint Statement (ENDC/140) of the Governments of the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom on the occasion of the anniversary of the signing of the Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, which has just been read out by the Chairman of today's meeting, the representative of Brazil, is a document of great international significance. It emphasizes the great role played

(Mr. Tsarapkin, USSR)

by the conclusion of the Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water in strengthening peace on our planet, restricting the arms race, and reducing the danger to the health of the people of the present and future generations.

The Statement notes that the States taking part in the Geneva disarmament negotiations have made their contribution in this field. It also points out that, since the signing of the Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in three environments, various additional -- if limited -- steps have been taken to reduce nuclear hazards to mankind. A resolution has been adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations banning the placing in orbit of objects carrying nuclear weapons (A/RES/1884 (XVIII)). The Governments of the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom have taken decisions to limit the production of fissionable materials for military purposes (ENDC/131, 132).

So much has already been accomplished, but it is of course only the first steps. In this connexion we should like especially to stress the great importance of that part of the Joint Statement in which the Governments of the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom draw attention to the need to solve "serious problems and differences ... in order to achieve a downturn in the arms race, effective disarmament and secure peace" (ENDC/140, p.2). Here in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament we are conducting negotiations on these questions. We have not yet achieved success, but the Soviet delegation would like to express its firm conviction that success in the disarmament negotiations is possible.

What is necessary in order to move forward to more and more agreements aimed at reducing the arms race and achieving agreement on general and complete disarmament? For this purpose it is first of all necessary to have a clear aim; and such an aim, consistent with the interests of all the peoples inhabiting our planet, is the elimination of the threat of nuclear war -- the most terrible threat in the whole history of mankind.

Today, as on 6 August of every year, people realize this with particular force. In fact, today is not only the first anniversary of the signing of the Treaty banning nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, but it is also the nineteenth anniversary of the day when the first terrifying nuclear fire was hurled down upon the heads of human beings. The nuclear blow at Hiroshima brought instantaneous destruction to more than 100,000 people; but it is well known that the types of nuclear

(Mr. Tsarapkin, USSR)

weapons created today are thousands of times more powerful, with immeasurably greater destructive power, and that enormous stockpiles of them have been accumulated by States. This means that the need to ban nuclear weapons and to accomplish **general** and complete disarmament has increased to a tremendous extent.

It is towards this aim -- the achievement of practical agreements aimed at ridding the peoples of the danger of nuclear war -- that the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and all the peace-loving States are directing their efforts in the Eighteen-Nation Committee. With a view to the earliest possible, effective solution of this great problem, the Soviet Union proposes reaching agreement that all nuclear weapon delivery vehicles, with the exception of a strictly limited, agreed "nuclear umbrella", should be eliminated in the very first stage of general and complete disarmament. The Soviet Union is in favour of concluding without delay an agreement on the non-dissemination of nuclear weapons which would close all channels -- direct and indirect -- for the further proliferation of these weapons throughout the world.

Being anxious to contribute towards relaxing international tension and reducing the arms race, and desiring to bring about the most favourable conditions for general and complete disarmament, the Soviet Union proposes reaching agreement also on such essential and, at the same time, entirely feasible and realistic measures as the elimination of bomber aircraft, the reduction of military budgets, the withdrawal -- or, to begin with, the reduction -- of foreign troops in the territories of other countries, the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the NATO and the Warsaw Treaty countries, the establishment of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world, and a number of other measures (ENDC/123).

We see and know that a sincere desire to solve the problem of eliminating the danger of a nuclear war is being manifested by the neutral, non-aligned States, both those represented in this Committee and those not so represented. On the initiative of States of Africa and Asia, the foundations have been laid for the adoption of important measures aimed at eliminating the threat of nuclear war and reducing international tension. We refer to the resolution adopted by the General Assembly (A/RES/1909 (XVIII); ENDC/139) requesting the Eighteen-Nation Committee to study the question of convening a conference for the purpose of drafting an international convention banning the use of nuclear weapons, and also the well-known resolution (ENDC/93/Rev.1) adopted by the Heads of African States and Governments regarding the proclamation of Africa as a denuclearized zone and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from that continent.

(Mr. Tsarapkin, USSR)

As you see, we have before us a wide field of activity. In their Joint Statement the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom have also expressed, together with the Soviet Government, their desire to make a constructive effort to achieve agreement consistent with the interests of slowing the arms race (ENDC/140). The three Governments have declared their intention --

"... to do everything possible for the solution through negotiations of unresolved international problems in order to strengthen general peace, the benefits of which would be enjoyed by all States, big and small, and by all people" (ibid.).

This gives rise to new hope that in the disarmament negotiations it will be possible to achieve useful results for the peoples of the world, if all the parties concerned strive towards this end.

As the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, Mr. Khrushchev, said in his replies to questions put to him by the editorial staff of Pravda and Izvestia:

"... the year which has passed since the day the Moscow Treaty was concluded has enriched international life with new experience: with the creation of a certain fund of confidence it is possible to move further towards reducing international tension and achieving agreement in various fields, and not only by concluding official agreements but also on the basis of a policy of 'mutual example'. For this reason it is particularly important to protect this fund of confidence and not allow it to be exhausted but, on the contrary, to strengthen and extend it in every way" (ENDC/141).

Everyone realizes, of course, that this strengthening and extension of confidence can be ensured only by actions aimed at strengthening peace, at reducing international tension, and at disarmament, and in no other way. But what is happening today in a remote area of South-East Asia, where the United States has taken the path of aggressive actions, certainly most seriously complicates the international situation, increases tension in international relations, and creates the danger of an extension of the conflict, with all the ensuing consequences. By these actions, which are contrary to the interests of peace, the United States has taken upon itself a heavy responsibility. The alarming events in South-East Asia emphasize with particular force the urgency of the problem of disarmament and the necessity of taking with all speed effective measures to reduce international tension and strengthen peace.

Mr. TAHOURDIN (United Kingdom): I have spoken already, on Tuesday of this week (ENDC/PV.204, pp. 21, 22), to recall the importance of the Treaty banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, which was signed a year ago yesterday. I do not wish to take the time of the Committee by repeating what I said then. Mr. Chairman, you have already read to the Committee the Joint Statement by the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (ENDC/140). I should, however, like to draw its attention to the message sent by the United Kingdom Prime Minister to Mr. Khrushchev on the occasion of this anniversary. It reads as follows:

"Tomorrow is the first anniversary of the signature in Moscow of the nuclear test-ban treaty, and I recall with pleasure that it was my privilege, as Foreign Secretary, to be in Moscow on that occasion.

"The test-ban treaty was a first step in the disarmament field and, I believe also, a most significant one in proclaiming the possibility of an era of improvement in East-West relations. We have many problems still to settle, but I am convinced that we can make progress with their solution.

"On this anniversary I think it appropriate, Mr. Chairman, to reaffirm Her Majesty's Government's determination, in concert with our allies, to work steadily for the improvement of East-West relations and for a world made safer through disarmament."

Mr. PROTITCH (Special Representative of the Secretary-General): Secretary-General U Thant made a statement yesterday in New York on the anniversary of the signing of the Treaty banning nuclear tests, as follows:

"Today marks the anniversary of the signing by the Governments of the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom of the treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water.

"I had the privilege to be present in Moscow at that historic ceremony. I said on that occasion that, while the Treaty did not eliminate the risk of war, it constituted an important first step towards the reduction of international tension and the strengthening of peace.

(Mr. Protitch, Special Representative
of the Secretary-General)

"On this first anniversary of the signing of the test-ban Treaty I should like to express my sincere hope that, in the same spirit of accommodation and understanding that characterized the conclusion of that Treaty, as well as the later agreement prohibiting the stationing in outer space of objects carrying nuclear weapons, every effort will be made to make further progress towards the elimination of international tension and the strengthening of universal peace, including the speedy achievement of an agreement on general and complete disarmament under strict international control in accordance with the objectives of the United Nations."

Mr. GOMEZ ROBLED0 (Mexico) (translation from Spanish): Among the conflicts and vicissitudes through which mankind is passing today, and in face of the tension which exists throughout the world -- to say nothing of local wars, which are none the less deplorable for being local -- we have at least one cause for rejoicing: for yesterday was the first anniversary of the signature of the Moscow Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water.

In noting this auspicious anniversary like other delegations, the Mexican delegation considers that this would be an appropriate occasion to discuss a similar ban on underground nuclear tests, a logical corollary to and necessary crowning of the Moscow Treaty. Although that item is not on today's agenda, we do not think we are out of order in bringing it up; for one of this Committee's best-established rules of procedure is that any delegation may bring up and discuss on any appropriate occasion any subject which is relevant to our task, particularly when, as in this case, it has been expressly referred to our Committee by the General Assembly (A/RES/1910 (XVIII); ENDC/139). Moreover, Mr. Cavalletti, the Italian representative, acted similarly in regard to this very subject on 30 July (ENDC/PV.203, p.18).

The Moscow Treaty rightly aroused the enthusiasm of all the peoples of the world, who saw in it a first firm and decisive step on the long march which one day will take us to our goal of general and complete disarmament. All rejoiced greatly that these evil weapons would no longer be perfected -- if, indeed, we can speak of perfection in this matter -- at the rapid pace of previous years. With the ending of atmospheric tests we should at all events be delivered from radioactive fallout, that bane of present and future generations.

(Mr. Gomez Robledo, Mexico)

All in all, the Moscow Treaty was anything but an epilogue -- merely a prologue, whose immediate sequel, disregarding for the moment its long-term results, should be a ban on underground nuclear tests, so that these tests should be abolished altogether in every medium. This is not merely speculation or wishful thinking, for the preamble to the Moscow Treaty expresses the desire of the original Parties "to achieve the discontinuance of all test explosions of nuclear weapons for all time" (ENDC/100/Rev.1). As if that were not enough, it states in the next line that the Governments of the original Parties are "determined to continue negotiations to this end".

The preamble therefore constitutes a firm undertaking and an irrevocable declaration of intent. Without embarking on a discussion of the complex problem of whether the preamble to a treaty has the same legal force as the operative paragraphs, we can at least say, in adopting the most liberal interpretation, that the preamble certainly expresses the spirit of the Treaty, and that the letter cannot be divorced from the spirit; for, as was written a long time ago, "The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life" (II Cor. 3, 6). Thus it was that the General Assembly of the United Nations, in its resolution 1910 (XVIII), called upon "all States to become parties to the Treaty ... and to abide by its spirit and provisions" (ENDC/139). If that resolution has any value other than that of sterile repetition, it means that, while the provisions of the Treaty cover only the three media specified therein, its spirit covers all media.

Consequently my delegation has no alternative but to express its anxiety that underground nuclear tests are still being conducted. We cannot say that those explosions contravene the letter of the Treaty; but they certainly contravene its spirit and the General Assembly resolution I have quoted. The Moscow Treaty condemned, not the physical media themselves -- for Nature cannot be condemned --, but the harmfulness of human action; and that condemnation holds good for all media.

As serious, or almost as serious, as the continuation of underground nuclear tests is the apparent failure to comply with the second operative paragraph of resolution 1910 (XVIII), in which the General Assembly -

(Mr. Gomez Robledo, Mexico)

"Requests the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament to continue with a sense of urgency its negotiations to achieve the objectives set forth in the preamble to the Treaty;" that is to say, to conclude an all-embracing treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in all media.

I hope I may be permitted to say, with all due respect but with all firmness, that those objectives seem to have been forgotten and that the countries which have acceded to the Moscow Treaty look to the original Parties to keep their pledged word. It is painfully obvious that the negotiations in question have not been conducted in this Committee; nor, as far as we know, have the major nuclear Powers conducted them among themselves. If they have done so -- and we do not rule out that possibility --, then this Committee should have been informed accordingly; for we all have a clear duty to report to the next session of the General Assembly on the negotiations which that body, the most representative of the United Nations as a whole, requested us to continue "with a sense of urgency". It is with sorrow that we note the lack of success in the negotiations on a subject of such urgency and transcendent importance.

This inaction, this view of the Moscow Treaty as a terminus rather than as a starting-point, in effect encourages those Powers which have not acceded to the Treaty to carry out nuclear tests, not only underground but in all other media. The newspapers have recently drawn attention to this possibility. We do not mean to say that, if underground tests were banned, those Powers would ipso facto accede to the Treaty, but that public opinion could oppose them more openly if they should persist in their intentions. In other words, the moral effect and power of dissuasion of a condemnation would not be complete unless it were delivered by a world which had pronounced itself against nuclear tests per se and in all media.

We are fully aware that this question of underground nuclear tests entails complex technical, seismological and other similar problems on which it would be premature to express an opinion at present. Be that as it may, we consider that those technical difficulties should not be an insurmountable obstacle to the immediate initiation of negotiations aimed at solving those or any other problems. The Italian representative, Mr. Cavalletti, said much the same thing on 30 July, adding the following words, to which the Mexican delegation fully subscribes:

(Mr. Gomez Robledo, Mexico)

"However, we must renew and redouble our efforts. We must be in a position to tell the General Assembly that the matter has been debated here and that on our side every effort has been made to achieve an agreement".

(ENDC/PV.203, p.19)

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I should like with your permission to state here formally that this position of the Mexican delegation, far from being improvised or dictated by circumstances, is in complete conformity with the Mexican Government's traditional attitude towards this question. As soon as Mexico learned that the Moscow Treaty had been informally initialled on 25 July 1963, it hastened to declare two days later, on 27 July, that it was willing to accede to the Treaty as soon as this was open for signature. That is evidence of our great desire to contribute to the banning of nuclear tests. Through our Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Mexican Government made the following declaration on the same date:

"The decision of the President of the Republic is dictated by his desire to emphasize the interest Mexico has always had in this question and to give the great Powers an incentive to continue in their endeavours to achieve the total banning of nuclear tests for warlike purposes and to arrive at as comprehensive an agreement as possible on the question of general and complete disarmament under international control". (ENDC/105).

To sum up, the Mexican delegation harbours the hope that those considerations will be favourably received by the members of this Committee, and that the necessary steps will be taken to comply with the preamble to the Moscow Treaty, our Committee's terms of reference as laid down by the General Assembly (A/RES/1722 (XVI); ENDC/139), and the unanimous desire of the peace-loving peoples of the world.

Mr. LOBODYCZ (Poland): I should like at the outset of my short intervention to express our profound satisfaction that the Governments of the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom have, by the publication of their Joint Statement (ENDC/140), commemorated the first anniversary of the signing of the Moscow Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water. The Statement reminds us of the importance which the Moscow Agreement has for the improvement of the international situation, and points to the existing

(Mr. Lobodycz, Poland)

possibilities for arresting the arms race and consolidating peace. May the very fact of the publication of this document give rise to hopes for the future; for it should be taken as a manifestation of the spirit of co-operation which we deem indispensable to the solution of all international problems, including the difficult and complicated issues confronting the world today.

Let me quote here the following words spoken by the Deputy Foreign Minister of Poland, Mr. Winiewicz, after signing the Moscow Agreement on behalf of the Polish Government:

"Having in view the need for international détente and peaceful coexistence so earnestly wished for by all nations, the success reached thanks to the agreement of the nuclear Powers should be consolidated and extended. Poland, as a socialist country, will do her utmost to contribute to further triumphs of the idea of peaceful coexistence and to create an atmosphere of international confidence and rapprochement, in the interests of the security of all peoples."

Proceeding from those premises, we have thought and continue to think that the Moscow Agreement should result in new concrete steps towards peaceful development. That is why we in the Committee should, I submit, strive for agreements which could first of all contribute to halting the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race, and thus create conditions conducive to the conclusion of further agreements.

As is rightly stressed in the Joint Statement of the three nuclear Powers which were the original signatories of the Moscow Treaty, since the signing of the Agreement some steps in that direction have been taken. We can only appreciate their significance. They are results of the better atmosphere brought about by the Moscow Agreement. May our Committee see in the Joint Statement both an encouragement and a stimulus for intensifying our efforts towards co-operation based on principles which take due account of the interests of all parties concerned and serve the tasks for which this body was established.

The tasks confronting us are by no means easy. Their attainment will certainly require some time, good will and mutual understanding. Many issues before this Committee still await solution. Among them are problems of special urgency; I need mention only that of the non-dissemination of nuclear weapons. We fully share the position of a number of countries, including the non-aligned States, which, both in

(Mr. Lobodycz, Poland)

our Committee and at the General Assembly of the United Nations, have expressed the view that an agreement on non-dissemination would be a logical step following the Moscow Treaty.

While we attach great significance to collateral measures, it is our view that the activities of this Committee should be crowned by an agreement on general and complete disarmament. It is the Moscow Treaty which places this obligation upon us, by proclaiming as the principal aim of the States signatories of the Treaty, "the speediest possible achievement of an agreement on general and complete disarmament under strict international control" (ENDC/100/Rev.1)

The Joint Statement recalls the contribution made by the members of this Committee to the conclusion of the Moscow Treaty. In this connexion, may I emphasize how much we in Poland appreciate the constructive role played by the non-aligned States in disarmament negotiations? I am sure that these States will continue to make a valuable contribution to the work of our Committee.

Having said all that, let me emphasize that any progress towards consolidating peace and security, and any moves to arrest the arms race, require an atmosphere of peace and tranquillity all over the world. It is a source of deep regret to us that, at a time when we are celebrating the first anniversary of the Moscow Treaty, military acts in South-East Asia have overshadowed this solemn occasion. The military acts of the United States in that region are a subject of deep concern to us. Those acts are by no means justified; they should be renounced in the interest of peace and security, in the interest of the disarmament with which we in this Committee are dealing.

Poland was one of the first countries to accede to the Moscow Treaty. We thus manifested both our positive attitude to the Treaty and our readiness to continue our co-operation in the spirit of this Agreement. I wish to assure all our colleagues in the Committee that, as has so far been the case, they can always count on our goodwill and co-operation in the implementation of the tasks entrusted to this Committee.

The CHAIRMAN (Brazil) (translation from French): I should now like to make a statement as representative of Brazil.

(The Chairman, Brazil)

It seems to me a happy coincidence that the chairmanship of the Committee should fall to the Brazilian representative on the morrow of the first anniversary of the Moscow Treaty on a partial test ban on nuclear tests. All the representatives here are aware of the efforts which Brazil has always made, both in the General Assembly and in this Committee, to secure a ban on nuclear tests. My colleagues at this Conference are also aware that the satisfaction with which my delegation greeted the Agreement of 5 August 1963 was amply justified by the fact that it was a representative of Brazil who had taken the initiative of suggesting a treaty on the general lines of the one actually signed.

At that time we were convinced -- and we are today -- that this step was bound to have profound and beneficial effects and repercussions on the destiny of mankind and on the physical development of future generations. We regard the Moscow Treaty as a milestone in the struggle of mankind to exorcize the spectre of destruction. It is both an example and a challenge. It is an example of what can be achieved when the concerted efforts of intelligent men cause solid general interests to prevail over alleged individual interests. It is a challenge because it points out the long road we must follow, and the need to find imaginative but realistic solutions enabling us to overcome the innumerable obstacles lying between us and our goal of general and complete disarmament under effective control, as a means of guaranteeing international peace and security.

As last year, my delegation wishes now also to express the hope that that part of the preamble of the Moscow Treaty which calls for a continuance of negotiations in order to ban underground tests will be translated into reality as speedily as possible. We are sure that the problems of control, detection and identification are not insoluble but can be solved within the framework of the possibilities of technical progress. We are also convinced that the smaller risk of radioactive contamination from underground tests does not diminish their intrinsic danger, for they are at present the only way of perfecting the weapons of mass destruction which threaten life on this planet.

We therefore consider that any progress towards even a partial ban of underground tests -- in accordance with a suggestion made by the Brazilian delegation on 24 March (ENDC/PV.177, p.9) -- would constitute a decisive new step towards improved relations

(The Chairman, Brazil)

among the great Powers. It would be a practical demonstration, a concrete example, given by them to the non-nuclear nations that security must be sought not through the unlimited accumulation of increasingly dangerous armaments, but through a step-by-step and controlled process of general and complete disarmament.

It is thus with the greatest satisfaction that the Brazilian delegation takes note of the Joint Statement in which the three nuclear Powers declare their intention --

"... to do everything possible for the solution through negotiations of unresolved international problems in order to strengthen general peace, the benefits of which would be enjoyed by all States, big and small, and by all people". (ENDC/140)

The Brazilian delegation has been following the discussions during the present session with the greatest interest. On this occasion it desires to communicate certain of its impressions and views on the proposals discussed and the methods suggested for implementing them. We are far from being pessimistic, yet we cannot but note with regret that the present phase of the Conference, which opened under the most favourable auspices, has so far failed to produce any tangible results. We have up till now been in fact unable to take advantage of the favourable circumstances attending our labours to accelerate the process of international relaxation which began when the prospects were extremely gloomy.

In more dangerous circumstances, we were able to show greater imagination and greater boldness. Why should we halt now that we appear to be on the verge of achieving certain important objectives? It might be supposed that that is due to our knowledge that our onward march will henceforth be irreversible, that the disarmament process, once begun, must be continued to the end, under penalty of a world catastrophe of unimaginable proportions, and that in consequence we are afraid of the success which might crown our efforts. I refuse to admit such a suggestion. I believe rather that this Conference has not yet discovered adequate means of translating into deeds the ever-widening agreement which is becoming apparent in numerous fields between the members of the two military blocs represented in this Committee. There are of course major difficulties which lie in the way of an understanding, but instead of discouraging us they should spur us on.

(The Chairman, Brazil)

In the task to which I refer, one might expect an effective contribution from the delegations of the eight countries which, belonging neither to the Warsaw Pact countries nor to NATO, have, so to speak, a special mission to act as mediators and conciliators and to seek all appropriate means of narrowing the gap between the points of view and opinions of the nuclear Powers.

Moreover, we must first of all determine what precisely we wish to achieve in the long and the short term. Here it would, I feel, be very useful to study how we could generalize the working method which was suggested by the Swedish representative, Mrs. Myrdal, on 28 July (ENDC/PV.202, pp. 7 et seq.) and which my delegation considers perfectly adequate. Although the subject for which that procedure was proposed is not on the agenda of today's meeting, I make bold to mention it, for I consider that it could be of great help to us in our work if we were to apply it to the discussion of several of the collateral measures submitted to the Committee for examination.

In our view it would be important to specify more clearly the purpose of some of those measures, especially in order to determine how far they are related and could be combined in practice, so as to achieve some concrete results which, though modest, would represent effective progress towards a reduction in international tension and create favourable conditions for the disarmament process with which we are dealing. I consider that the system adopted by the Committee, consisting in the separate study of proposals which in practice should be complementary -- has hampered our work and prevented a better understanding.

We think that the Committee could entrust that task to a working group whenever it considered that certain collateral measures could be studied jointly. For instance, we might seek to combine the study of the "principles" of reducing military budgets and of non-dissemination of nuclear weapons -- which we all support -- with that of "concrete measures" for a decrease in production of fissionable materials for military purposes, the destruction of bomber aircraft and a freeze of nuclear delivery vehicles, all of which we are at present discussing separately. We might also study these measures by seeking means of using at once, for peaceful purposes, the savings resulting from the elimination or reduction of those instruments of destruction.

It was with great satisfaction that I heard during the last few days various representatives, including those of Italy and the Soviet Union (ENDC/PV.203, pp.16; 19, 20) expressly renew their support for the idea of using for assistance to developing countries part of the sums at present devoted to the arms race. Indeed, Brazil continues to believe that its suggestion for creating a special fund for that

(The Chairman, Brazil)

purpose (ENDC/126) would inevitably strengthen the peace-keeping machinery provided for in the San Francisco Charter. Moreover, as I pointed out in my speech of 9 June,

"... world public opinion expects this Conference itself to determine the means of allocating to economic development the resources released by a reduction in the manufacture of arms". (ENDC/PV.188, p.9)

The examples I have just cited do not of course exhaust the possibilities of combining or reconciling the various proposals which the Soviet Government (ENDC/123) and President Johnson (ENDC/120) have submitted to the Committee and which have been before us since January. Other possibilities could be examined. If we follow that method we shall perhaps by the end of the present session reach a concrete and immediate agreement, be it ever so modest.

That is what I wanted to say to the Committee today. I hope that these remarks will be of some help in the efforts which we must continue to make in the spirit of international co-operation which rendered possible the conclusion of the Moscow Treaty.

Mr. DUMITRESCU (Romania) (translation from French): The solemn character of today's meeting, dedicated to the first anniversary of the conclusion of the Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the three environments, stresses our common duty to pursue our efforts to consolidate the results obtained and to extend its sphere of application, as laid down in the preamble to the Treaty.

As you know, the Moscow Treaty, which was concluded in response to the insistent demands of world public opinion, was the result of long and difficult negotiations, -- as is stressed in the Joint Statement by the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (ENDC/140) which has just been read to you -- to which the States participating in the disarmament negotiations at Geneva, and U Thant, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, also contributed.

The Romanian Government, which was one of the first signatories of the Treaty, considers that, though this in no way solves the major problems of the struggle to eliminate the danger to world peace represented by the arms race and the stockpiling of atomic and hydrogen weapons, it constitutes an important factor in the relaxation of international tension. The conclusion of this agreement confirmed yet again that negotiation is the only reasonable way to solve international problems. This is likewise reflected in the same joint statement, in which the three Governments declare their --

"... intention to do everything possible for the solution through negotiations of unresolved international problems in order to strengthen general peace, the benefits of which would be enjoyed by all States, big and small, and by all peoples."

(ENDC/140, p.2)

(Mr. Dumitrescu, Romania)

Clearly that path is beset with difficulties. But I believe we can achieve the desired results if we show perseverance, patience and serenity, and refrain from any action which might complicate the situation or endanger peace, to the strengthening of which all States, large and small, are in duty bound to contribute.

The year which has elapsed since the signature of the Treaty has proved that that is possible. The results obtained are, it is true, limited in scope. We should have liked to be able to congratulate ourselves today on other achievements bringing us closer to our final goal -- general and complete disarmament.

We all know that that goal is far from having been attained, but the numerous proposals and suggestions submitted here prove that we have not come to the end of our efforts. The call of the Joint Statement for "a downturn in the arms race, effective disarmament and secure peace" (*ibid.*) should lead to concrete measures likely to contribute to the strengthening of peace and of international security -- that is, to peaceful co-existence. That postulates, first and foremost, the need to avoid any military action, which would inevitably threaten the peace and security of all nations, such as the action now being taken by the United States in South-East Asia.

As was recently stated by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Romanian People's Republic, Mr. I.G. Maurer:

"Today, when nuclear war is part of the equation 'war = cataclysm',

international understanding has become an imperative of our time. From the point of view of the interests of peace, we are all one world."

It is in this spirit that, in conformity with our Government's instructions, the Romanian delegation wishes to make its contribution to the completion of the task which the General Assembly of the United Nations has assigned to this Committee. We shall support any measure likely to facilitate progress along that path.

Mr. LUKANOV (Bulgaria) (translation from Russian): The signing of the Moscow Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water was an important event which inspired great hopes and was warmly welcomed by all peoples and by all the advocates of mutual understanding among peoples. That international agreement was a convincing confirmation that there are real possibilities of finding mutually-acceptable solutions to urgent and well-advanced international problems, provided that goodwill and a sincere desire to achieve agreement are shown by all the Powers concerned. That is the basic significance of the Moscow Treaty.

(Mr. Lukanov, Bulgaria)

Today, after the lapse of a year since the day the Moscow Treaty was signed, the most authoritative scientific institutes have provided evidence of its practical utility: namely a decrease in the atmosphere of the radiation which is so harmful to life on earth (ENDC/129). Thus all the peoples have been given an opportunity to form a still better idea of the danger of nuclear tests and of a possible nuclear conflict. This in its turn has strengthened the desire for the complete elimination of the nuclear danger as soon as possible. The struggle of the peoples for the strengthening of peace has thus been given a new impulse.

As was pointed out a year ago, the conclusion of the Moscow Treaty has deprived certain dismal politicians in the West of the "argument" that agreement between East and West is impossible and peaceful co-existence impracticable. The time that has passed since August 1963 has also shown that agreements on very important problems can be strictly observed without any doubt even once arising that they will be conscientiously fulfilled by all the Powers directly concerned.

The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, evaluating the Moscow Treaty positively, adhered to it as early as 8 August 1963. It was thus among the first to ratify this Treaty (5 October 1963). This in itself shows the attitude of the People's Republic of Bulgaria towards this important international agreement. In his speech at the signing of the Moscow Treaty Mr. Ivan Bashev, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, said:

"In signing the Treaty banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, on behalf of and on the instructions of the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, I should like to state that the Bulgarian people and the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria attach great importance to this Treaty, which constitutes an encouraging beginning for the solution of the problems of disarmament, and brilliantly demonstrates the rightness, viability and effectiveness of the policy of peaceful co-existence."

As has already been pointed out, the conclusion of the Moscow Treaty was an event that had a favourable impact on the entire international situation and brought about the conditions for achieving further agreements in 1963 and 1964, for taking further steps towards halting the arms race and reducing international tension. Nevertheless,

(Mr. Lukanov, Bulgaria)

despite all its positive aspects, the Moscow Treaty and the agreements which followed it do not solve the problem of disarmament, do not put an end to the arms race, and do not eliminate the danger of thermonuclear war. They are only a beginning --- a good one, but only a beginning in the right direction. On 15 August 1963 the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Mr. Todor Zhivkov, said:

"The agreement to which the People's Republic of Bulgaria has officially adhered does not save humanity from the danger of thermonuclear war. It is merely a first step in that direction. But even the longest journey begins with a first step".

Today, when we are observing the first anniversary of the signing of the Moscow Treaty, we participants in the work of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament cannot fail to note with understandable anxiety the fact that we have accomplished exceedingly little. The favourable situation created by the Moscow Agreement and by the agreements that followed it, the international détente to which many delegations referred when we resumed our work at the beginning of 1964, as is generally admitted, has not been transformed by us into a firm leverage that would enable us to achieve rapid and substantial progress in our negotiations on disarmament.

Unfortunately, the course of our discussions shows that the Committee will probably have to present yet another purely formal report to the General Assembly of the United Nations. Nevertheless, there existed, and there still exist, real possibilities of achieving at the present session of the Committee substantial results precisely in the direction which has been indicated by the Moscow Treaty and in which its significance mainly lies: namely, the necessity of halting the nuclear arms race, eliminating the danger of the further spread of nuclear weapons, and eliminating the danger of nuclear war once and for all and radically.

On this first anniversary of the signing of the Moscow Treaty we should like to emphasize once again that tangible, rapid and substantial results in the negotiations on disarmament can be obtained if all the parties concerned, all States and governments, take into account -- not only in words but also in deeds -- the fundamental requirement of our time: namely, the elimination of the danger of thermonuclear war. That is the essence and principal content of the very idea of general and complete disarmament.

(Mr. Lukanov, Bulgaria)

There is no doubt that in one year it should have been possible to achieve greater results in the field of disarmament and the strengthening of peace than the countries have achieved in the past year. But it is also true that the insufficient results in this field, and in particular in our work, should by no means lead us into pessimism but, on the contrary, should strengthen our ambition to conclude successfully the very important task affecting all mankind that has been entrusted to us: namely, to propose ways of maintaining and strengthening peace through general and complete disarmament.

The Bulgarian delegation sees additional possibilities for successful work by the Eighteen-Nation Committee in the high appreciation of the activity of the States represented here which is expressed in the Joint Statement of the Governments of the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States of America on the occasion of the first anniversary of the Moscow Treaty (ENDC/140). We welcome with understanding the mention in the statement that "serious problems and differences remain to be dealt with in order to achieve a downturn in the arms race, effective disarmament and secure peace" (ibid., p.2). No matter how serious the existing fundamental problems and differences may be, the fact remains that three great Powers -- the original signatories to the Moscow Treaty -- have once again proclaimed to the world, just as they did a year ago, their "intention to do everything possible for the solution through negotiations of unresolved international problems". (ibid.) It is in this light that the prospects for fruitful work by the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament are to be regarded.

The recent events show that our responsibility, the responsibility of the participants in the Geneva disarmament negotiations, is becoming heavier every day. Those events demonstrate that our efforts to achieve rapid and substantial results in regard to halting the arms race, preventing the dissemination of nuclear weapons, and eliminating the threat of nuclear war, must also be redoubled. At present the armed forces of the United States of America, thousands of miles away from their own territory, violating the sovereignty of independent States of South-East Asia and interfering in their internal affairs, are carrying out aggressive actions which could have serious consequences for peace.

(Mr. Lukanov, Bulgaria)

It is clearer than ever before that in a disarmed world such aggressive actions would be impossible. Clearly we must make haste with disarmament. Time is not on our side. That is the conclusion we draw on the anniversary of the Moscow Treaty. Disarmament is our task, and we must set about it at last in real earnest.

Mr. NEHRU (India): We are celebrating today the first anniversary of the signing of the Moscow Treaty. While celebration is fully justified, my delegation would like to suggest that this is also a suitable occasion for some reflection on the state of our work. We have to keep in mind today the expectations that were created by the signing of the Treaty last year, and also some recent developments in the international situation which we hope will have no damaging effects. Our colleagues will recall that ten years ago, on 8 April 1954, the late Prime Minister of India made a proposal in the United Nations for the suspension of all nuclear tests (DC/44 and Corr.1). Some years later there was a voluntary suspension, but unfortunately it did not last very long. Efforts were then renewed, both in this Conference and elsewhere, to bring about the cessation of all nuclear tests. Step by step those efforts led to the partial agreement, or treaty, which was signed in Moscow last year. The Moscow Treaty, although it is not a disarmament measure, was warmly welcomed throughout the world. One or two countries, of course, denounced it, but we must regard them as exceptions.

Speaking of the Treaty, the late Prime Minister of India said:

"Although this is only a partial treaty and does not carry us far towards disarmament, nevertheless it represents the first breaking of the ice in the cold war. It is therefore an important landmark in international co-operation and understanding, and we trust that this welcome beginning will lead to wider agreements on other measures for the reduction of tension and to the speedy conclusion of a treaty on general and complete disarmament."

Thus the Moscow Treaty was welcomed as a step in the direction of peace and the ending of the cold war. The step was not a big one, but helped to create conditions which are conducive to progress in our Conference. The whole world is looking to us today to make some further progress and to keep alive the improvement in the international situation. We must admit, however, that in spite of these favourable conditions we have not yet achieved any substantial results. Our present session will soon be ending, and we shall have to make a report to the General Assembly.

(Mr. Nehru, India)

Meanwhile some grave developments have taken place in a crucial area which is very close to India. The Government of India has been entrusted with a special responsibility in this area, as Chairman of the International Commission. It is deeply disturbed by these developments and has expressed the hope that the threat to peace will soon be eliminated. We welcome the statement made by President Johnson that the United States Government does not desire to extend the area of hostilities and wishes to preserve the peace. It would be a major disaster if, at a time when every effort is being made to strengthen peace and to bring about an improvement in the international situation, a new threat of this kind were to arise in that crucial area. In this situation it seems to us that an even greater responsibility rests on the members of this Committee to ensure the success of our Conference. This is particularly important at the present time, as everything possible must be done to prevent a deterioration in the international situation.

Our discussions during the present session and the last session of the Conference have been of some value. It seems to us that the time has come to advance towards an agreement on concrete measures. We are convinced that agreements can be reached on some of the measures that we are discussing. What is needed is a spirit of accommodation and fuller respect for each other's legitimate concerns and interests. That is the only way to carry out negotiation successfully.

On behalf of my delegation, I should like to express the hope that in the coming weeks before our session ends there will be a greater effort on the part of all of us, and that the expectations which were created by the Moscow Treaty and other agreements last year will be fulfilled in our Conference.

Mr. BURNS (Canada): The Canadian delegation joins in the expressions of approbation on the first anniversary of the conclusion of the partial test-ban treaty. We heard with particular satisfaction the Joint Statement of the United Kingdom, the United States and the Soviet Union -- especially the part which expresses the intentions of those Governments to continue the negotiations on disarmament and on the solution of other political problems concerning peace in the world (ENDC/140).

(Mr. Burns, Canada)

We are in full agreement with the emphasis which those representatives who have already spoken on this subject have placed on the significance of the partial test ban. But at this time it is impossible not to recall the high hopes which were raised a year ago when this important agreement was reached, and to ask ourselves soberly to what extent we in this Committee have been able to justify those hopes.

Reading over the record of our 148th meeting, held on 30 July 1963 -- the first meeting of this Committee after the agreement in Moscow had been announced --, I noticed that all representatives who spoke on that occasion stressed two points. The first was that the successful conclusion of a partial test ban was the first major step which had been taken since the end of the Second World War to curb the arms race. As such, we all regarded it as a break-through, as concrete evidence that, given goodwill and perseverance, it was possible for the nations of the world to begin, through negotiation, to reduce -- and, it was hoped, to eliminate -- the dangers created by the development of nuclear weapons. The second point was that the partial test-ban treaty was only a first step, which must be followed by further action to slow down and then stop the arms race. We all recognized that, as a result of the test ban, an atmosphere had been created which should make those further steps easier.

At our meeting on 14 August 1963 Mr. Tsarapkin said:

"The conclusion of the test ban treaty shows that, given goodwill, States with different social systems can and do find mutually acceptable solutions to important and urgent international problems. This inspires the hope that outstanding international problems, with which the ensuring of international security and the strengthening of world peace are linked, can be settled by peaceful means through negotiation". (ENDC/PV.151, pp.20,21)

It has been these hopes which have inspired this Committee during the two sessions it has held in 1964. Nevertheless, it has not so far been possible for us to substantiate these hopes by negotiating any new area of agreement. You, Mr. Chairman, in your statement this morning as representative of Brazil, have also referred to this. The failure to negotiate any new agreement has not been the result of a lack of

(Mr. Burns, Canada)

constructive proposals. On the contrary, particularly in the field of collateral measures, a considerable number of useful and well-thought-out proposals have been advanced and discussed in recent months.

It is therefore with a feeling of disappointment that we must face up to the fact that the high hopes for early progress in our work which the partial test-ban treaty raised have not so far been fulfilled. It is too early to speak of disillusionment; but we in the Canadian delegation feel that it is not too early to recognize that the hopes that 1964 would mark substantial progress towards disarmament are fading, and fading rapidly.

We found an encouraging contrast with that in Mr. Tsarapkin's statement today that the Soviet Union still has the firm conviction that success in our negotiations here is possible. We hope that that is so. We know, of course, that the final responsibility for agreement rests with the great Powers, which would be the first to be directly affected by the steps which we all want to see taken towards disarmament. But the security of all nations, the heavily-armed as well as the less heavily armed, depends on the great Powers' bringing themselves to agree. Only a short time is left before this session of our Conference ends and the next session of the General Assembly of the United Nations begins. Therefore all of us hope that a special effort will be made to ensure that our work this year does not end in disappointment. On behalf of the Canadian delegation, therefore, I wish to make an appeal that during the coming weeks our co-Chairmen exert every effort to find some area on which this Committee can record concrete progress that we can report to the nineteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly.

Finally, the Canadian delegation believes that this Committee has a special responsibility to take some action pursuant to General Assembly resolution 1910 (XVIII) (ENDC/139). We have listened with careful attention to the statements in this connexion made this morning by the representative of Mexico and by you, Mr. Chairman, as representative of Brazil, and we find very much to agree with in those statements. Resolution 1910 asks this Committee --

"... to continue with a sense of urgency its negotiations to achieve the objectives set forth in the preamble to the [partial test-ban] Treaty."

(Mr. Burns, Canada)

That preamble states the intention of the parties to the Treaty to continue negotiations towards the discontinuance of all test explosions of nuclear weapons, including of course underground tests. The resolution to which I have referred asks this Committee to report to the nineteenth session of the General Assembly on this aspect of its work. We are given to understand that the co-Chairmen will make provision in their recommendations to this Committee on the further work of the Conference for a more detailed discussion of this subject.

Certain of the delegations which have spoken before me have referred to the unhappy events in the South-East Asian seas. The Canadian delegation feels that, as this matter is now before the Security Council of the United Nations, which is the appropriate forum for its discussion, it would not be particularly helpful to continue to raise this matter in this forum. Nevertheless we do feel that, certain statements having been made from one point of view, those who do not agree have the right to put forward the contrary viewpoint. In this connexion I will only say that the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Pearson, has declared in our House of Commons that in these events the United States has done nothing except reply to an attack made on United States vessels on the high seas outside territorial waters -- a right of defence which belongs incontestably to every nation.

In conclusion, I should like to say that, in spite of the somewhat less than optimistic words that I have spoken, the Canadian delegation shares the hope that others have expressed that we shall make progress before the end of our present session, when we have to report to the United Nations. We hope in particular that before the next anniversary of the signing of the nuclear test-ban Treaty we shall register really important progress towards disarmament and a peaceful world.

Mr. KURKA (Czechoslovakia) (translation from Russian): In our statement at the last meeting we alluded briefly to the first anniversary of the signing of the Moscow Treaty. Nevertheless, I should now like to associate myself with the preceding speakers today who have given a positive appraisal to the significance of this step and have expressed the hope that agreement will be reached in the near future on other measures in continuation of the policy initiated by the Moscow Treaty.

(Mr. Kurka, Czechoslovakia)

I should like to emphasize that we fully identify ourselves with the Joint Statement of the three Governments (ENDC/140) which you, Mr. Chairman, read out at the beginning of this morning's meeting, and which evaluates the Moscow Treaty as a significant step which contributes towards a further strengthening of peace and helps to restrict the arms race. We believe that we should avail ourselves of this first anniversary of the signing of the Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water not only to sum up what has been achieved, but also to ponder on the way in which our Committee has taken advantage of the favourable conditions brought about as a result of this step, and has contributed towards the efforts of all peoples towards lessening national tension, halting the arms race and eliminating the danger of nuclear war.

There is no doubt that the Moscow Treaty was a powerful stimulus in this direction. Its conclusion was justifiably associated with hopes that it would soon be possible to reach agreement in regard to the solution of other outstanding questions. The validity of such hopes was confirmed and strengthened by the agreements on other measures which followed upon the Moscow Treaty. But the fact that no success has been achieved in our negotiations up to the present, and that actually not one of the problems entrusted to us has been solved, should arouse and stimulate us and make us really redouble our joint efforts in order to achieve decisive progress in our work.

In this respect we value in particular that part of the Joint Statement by the Governments of the three major Powers which says that the Moscow Treaty and the other measures so far agreed upon have been significant and valuable steps, but only first steps, and that serious problems and differences remain to be dealt with in order to achieve a downturn in the arms race, effective disarmament and secure peace. We welcome the statement by the Governments of the three major Powers of their intention to do everything possible for the solution through negotiations of unresolved international problems in order to strengthen general peace (ibid).

It is necessary to stress an experience, already long since verified, which shows that just as international peace in the present-day situation is indivisible, so too must be indivisible the efforts to maintain and strengthen it. Unresolved international problems and particularly international disputes, cannot be settled by the use of force and aggression but only by peaceful means, with a realistic approach and in conformity with the peaceful hopes of all peoples.

(Mr. Kurka, Czechoslovakia)

In this connexion I should like to associate myself with what has been said here this morning by the representative of the Soviet Union and by the representatives of other delegations regarding the alarming events in South-East Asia. It is obvious that aggressive actions of the kind which are now being undertaken by the United States in that remote area do not at all contribute to the strengthening of international confidence but, on the contrary, are a serious threat to international peace. I should like to say in reply to the representative of Canada that we cannot pass over in silence these dangerous events in South-East Asia.

In conclusion, I should like to express the hope that all the delegations in our Committee will spare no effort to achieve at this session definite concrete results which would constitute a further development of the policy indicated by the signing of the Moscow Treaty, and that they will follow up the measures already taken with agreements on other measures which would still further contribute towards the lessening of international tension, the strengthening of peace, and the accomplishment of general and complete disarmament. We are prepared to contribute to the utmost of our ability towards the achievement of the aims that have been set before the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.

Allow me in this connexion to quote part of the statement of my Government published on 29 June 1963 on the occasion of the initialling of the Moscow Treaty. It reads as follows:

"In the spirit of its consistent peace-loving policy the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, together with the Governments of other socialist countries, will exert the utmost efforts to achieve a solution of controversial international problems on the basis of the principles of peaceful co-existence and to create the necessary conditions for the achievement of progress in the negotiations on disarmament, which alone is capable of eliminating the risk of war from the lives of the peoples." (ENDC/106)

Mr. HASSAN (United Arab Republic): I should like to say a few words on the first anniversary of the signing of the partial test-ban Treaty. This Conference contributed a great deal to the achievement of that Treaty, and was also instrumental in creating the atmosphere conducive to its final conclusion. We

(Mr. Hassan, United Arab Republic)

hail this first year in which humanity is able to breathe again an air free from radioactive fall-out. Our joy would be complete if we were able to close the door on improvements in nuclear weapons by signing an agreement on the banning of underground tests, thus completing the Moscow Treaty.

This commemoration is a fitting occasion to call attention to the fact that for the first time in history the road to peace through disarmament is no longer the exclusive field of well-intentioned moralists or zealous pacifists; it has become the official goal of more than one hundred States which have subscribed to the proclamation in the preamble to the Moscow Treaty stating that the principal aim is "the speediest possible achievement of an agreement on general and complete disarmament under strict international control in accordance with the objectives of the United Nations ..." (ENDC/100/Rev.1). Therefore our duty in this Conference is to redouble our efforts to achieve more substantial agreement in order to put this goal into effect.

While we commemorate this occasion today, our minds and hearts cannot but be deeply troubled by the increased tension in different parts of the world. A great deal of the causes of the tension could be removed, and our progress along the road to understanding and peace would be facilitated, if a number of the collateral measures could be speedily agreed upon and put into effect.

The CHAIRMAN (Brazil)(translation from French): The representative of the United States wishes to exercise the right of reply.

Mr. TIMBERLAKE (United States of America): Reference has been made this morning to what have in fact been hostile actions against United States ships on the high seas in the Gulf of Tonkin. While the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament is no place for the consideration of this subject, as the representative of Canada has already said, I cannot ignore the totally erroneous interpretation that has been given to these events by the representatives especially of the Soviet Union, Poland, Romania, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia.

There have been two attacks against United States ships in recent days in the Gulf of Tonkin area. These unprovoked and deliberate acts of aggression in international waters have been met by a United States response which President Johnson has described as "limited and fitting".

(Mr. Timberlake, United States)

Ten years ago the Republic of Viet-Nam asked the United States for assistance to defend its freedom and independence against aggression and subversion directed and in part supplied from North Viet-Nam. Peace and stability would prevail in Viet-Nam today if the rulers in Hanoi would live up to existing agreements and let their neighbours alone. In this connexion President Johnson said on 23 June:

"There is danger in South-East Asia. It is a danger brought on by terrorism and aggression. The United States intends no rashness and seeks no wider war, but the United States is determined to use its strength to help those who are defending themselves against terror and aggression. We are a people of peace but not of weakness and timidity. I repeat: our purpose is peace."

The CHAIRMAN (Brazil) (translation from French): I now wish to read out a communication from the co-Chairmen:

"The co-Chairmen recommend to the Committee that, in considering measures aimed at reducing the armaments race and at lessening international tension, it establish the following amended schedule of work for the next four weeks:

13 August	Topic to be suggested by the United States delegation;
20 August	Consideration of General Assembly resolutions referring to tasks of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament (ENDC/139);
27 August	Topic to be suggested by the United States delegation;
3 September	Consideration of General Assembly resolutions referring to tasks of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament (ENDC/139).

"The specific topic for discussion at the Committee's meeting on 27 August will be communicated to the Committee by the delegation of the United States not later than one week before that meeting.

"As with prior procedural arrangements, this schedule will not preclude any delegation from raising and discussing any topic at any meeting of the Committee. In particular, any delegation may reply at any meeting to statements made at earlier meetings.

(The Chairman, Brazil)

"At a later date the co-Chairmen will develop recommendations concerning the further work of the Committee on measures aimed at reducing the armament race and at lessening international tension."

I have also a recommendation from the United States co-Chairman regarding the topic to be discussed at the plenary meeting on Thursday, 13 August:

"The United States delegation, in accordance with the procedure of work adopted at our 199th meeting, and amended by the recommendation of the co-Chairmen that today's meeting be devoted to the anniversary of the limited test-ban treaty, wishes to suggest to the Committee that the topic for discussion at the plenary meeting on Thursday, 13 August, be the cut-off of production of fissionable materials for weapon use, as proposed in document ENDC/120."

Mr. CAVALLETTI (Italy) (translation from French): I note that our co-Chairmen have agreed on the procedure to be followed. For my part, I should be perfectly willing to fall in with those recommendations. However, in the text which you have just read I see no specific mention of the problem of underground nuclear tests. That problem was raised again this morning, and rightly so, by the Mexican representative, Mr. Gomez Robledo, and by yourself, Mr. Chairman, in your capacity as Brazilian representative. In addition, I believe that Mr. Burns urged that the Committee should study this problem forthwith.

According to the text which you have just read, I hope that the agenda for our meetings of 20 August and 3 September, on resolutions of the General Assembly, will enable us to initiate a debate, which I hope will prove constructive, on prohibition of underground nuclear tests, a question which my delegation and, I believe, most of the others present continue to regard as very important. I feel that the best way of celebrating the first anniversary of the signature of the Moscow Treaty, about which many delegations have spoken, would be to stress yet again the importance of the problem of banning underground tests, and to say that that problem remains ever-present in our minds and that the Committee will soon redouble its efforts to improve the mutual understanding of the various points of view and to reduce the distance which at present separates them.

The CHAIRMAN (Brazil)(translation from French): I am sure that the co-Chairmen will take note of the statement just made by the representative of Italy. Are there any other comments?

Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)(translation from Russian): It seems to me that our United States co-Chairman will agree that there is nothing in the statement just made by the representative of Italy that we have to take into account. The point is that it has been arranged that at the meeting on 20 August the Committee will consider the General Assembly resolutions concerning the work of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament (ENDC/139). Among these is the General Assembly resolution instructing the Committee to study the possibility of convening a conference for the purpose of signing a convention banning the use of nuclear weapons. There are also resolutions concerning general and complete disarmament and another regarding the cessation of nuclear tests. It would seem, therefore, that the representative of Italy has not perused the document referred to here. If he had perused it, he would not have any doubts on this score.

Mr. CAVALLETTI (Italy)(translation from French): Certainly I know very well that the United Nations recommendations refer to the prohibition of underground tests; but I wished to emphasize that fact and to draw the Committee's attention to that important problem in the hope that one meeting at least -- either 20 August or 3 September -- would be devoted to discussion of the problem of underground tests. That is all I wished to say.

Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)(translation from Russian): As representative of the Soviet Union, I wish to say that other delegations may prefer to take up some other question no less important than the discontinuance of underground tests -- for example, the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons. We consider this a very important problem, vital and urgent.

The Conference decided to issue the following communiqué:

"The Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament today held its 205th plenary meeting in the Palais des Nations, Geneva, under the Chairmanship of H.E. Ambassador Corrêa do Lago, representative of Brazil.

"The Chairman read a Joint statement by the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the first anniversary of the signing of the Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water.^{1/}

"The Representative of the Secretary-General read a statement by the Secretary-General of the United Nations made on the same occasion.

"Statements were made by the representatives of the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, Mexico, Poland, Brazil, Romania, Bulgaria, India, Canada, Czechoslovakia, the United Arab Republic and Italy.

"The next meeting of the Conference will be held on Tuesday, 11 August 1964, at 10.30 a.m."

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

^{1/} Circulated as document ENDC/140

